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ABSTRACT

This unit for high school social studies and Spanish language students deals with Mexico's transition toward democracy. Lesson activities include: (1) "What Is An Early Democratic Family Incident That You Remember?"; (2) "What is Democracy?"; (3) "Locating the Five Nations of Mexico"; (4) "Scenes from the Five Nations of Mexico"; (5) "Profiling Party Members"; (6) "Identifying Party Membership"; (7) "Economic Integration: NAFTA, Maquilas, and the 50 Billion Dollar U.S.-IMF Loan"; (8) "Immigration: Myths and Realities"; and (9) "El Grito de la Independencia." (EH)

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Activities Toward Understanding Mexico's Transition to Democracy. Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad 1996 (Mexico).

by Teresa Turnbow Dombrowski

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TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

Activities Toward Understanding Mexico's Transition To Democracy

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Abstract

This is a unit for high school social studies and Spanish students dealing with Mexico's transtion toward democracy which was developed from the 1996 Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad Program in Mexico. It contains geography activities on cultural diversity, poltical science activities on the definition of democracy, political parties, and Mexican-U.S. relations, plus a cultural activity on *El Grito de la Independencia.*

Introduction

I was one of 16 U.S. educators who participated in the 1996 Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar "Mexico: A Transition Toward Democratic Reform and Change Into the 21st Century." We spent five weeks travelling and studying about Mexico, starting with an orientation at the University of Texas at El Paso and continuing through Cuidad Juarez, Casas Grandes,Chihuahua, Divisadero, Los Mochis, Guadalajara, Morelia, Erongaricuaro, Guanajuato, Mexico, Tuxtla Gutierrez, San Cristobal de las Casas,Villahermosa, and Cancun (some side trips not listed). We used every means of public transportation save livestock (with the exception of those who choose to ride horses in Divisadero). We talked to every willing Mexican we encountered about the state of democracy in Mexico. We collected enough materials to have one half ton of luggage before we reached Mexico City. Then many of us shipped materials from Mexico City and continued collecting until the end of our trip. The US-Mexico Commission for Educational and Cultural Exchange, under the leadership of Dr. Vivian Antaki, U.S. Program Director, and Carmen Hernandez, Seminar Director, provided us with an impressive array of speakers, including many of the prominent names in current Mexican politics. From this experience, each seminar participant is developing a curriculum project to use within his/her classroom and to share with colleagues. The unit on Mexico which follows is a result of my "Fulbright Encounter" with Mexico.

When participating in a Fulbright-Hayes Summer Seminar in Mexico, U. S. educators are immediately thrown into a different cultural context. We cannot deny significant differences between Mexican and U.S. lifestyles while consuming tortillas and bolillos instead of slices of loaf-bread, struggling with transactions in Nuevos Pesos, and communicating in Spanish. However, U.S. cultural biases did creep into our reactions to what we saw and heard. We would catch ourselves formulating questions beginning with the judgmental "Why don't they...?" When teaching students about contemporary Mexico, we realize that many students have an even greater difficulty in separating themselves from

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their own cultural perspectives. Anything outside of the United States is often termed "over there." Anything dealing with Mexico seems to cloud our lesson objectives with the burning issues of today: concerns with illegal immigration, English as the official language of the U.S., and drug trafficking.

Because of my concerns about avoiding cultural biases of high school students when studying Mexico, I have sought to develop a unit of activities to identify student biases and then continue with activities that require students to role play and analyze situations according to Mexican cultural contexts. Secondly, because there are many aspects to understanding Mexico's transition to democracy, I have tried to deal with several elements that must considered: cultural diversity, current political parties , and the current influences of the U.S. in Mexico. Any of these activities can be used individually; several require knowledge of Spanish. All can be a starting point for formal investigations. None should be considered the final word on any topic. Most will be revised to suit needs of specific students and to adapt to changing realities.

Activities to Identify Cultural Biases About Democracy

Maria Luisa Puga is a Mexican writer who lives in the state of Michoacan. She collaborates with Peter Smith Kander in organizing writing workshops for children and adults at the Centro de Actividades y Servicios Educativos, A.C., at El Molino in Erongaricuaro. Our Fulbright group participated in the first activity; the second is one she suggested.

Activity #1
What is an early democractic family incident that you remember?

Our beliefs about democracy are shaped by the culture in which we live. Our earliest political socialization began within our own families. Take a few minutes to write down one of your early memories of democracy at work within your family. When we finish, everyone will read his/her memory to the group.

When most of the group have finished writing (in English or Spanish), let participants read their memories in the order in which they volunteer. Some telling , rather than reading, is allowed. All should respond somehow to the question about what the incident taught them about democracy. The group leader should read his/her memory last and should comment that understanding democracy is as much a personal as an intellectual pursuit. Experiences involving democracy vary widely from person to person and culture to culture.

Activity #2
What Is Democracy?

Democracy and democratization have more than one definition. Before we can discuss Mexico's transtition toward democracy, we need to have a clearer idea about what democracy is. Social studies students, Spanish students, and even students of other foreign languages are needed for this activity. Each should bring in definitions of democracy and democratization that have been found in dictionaries. Warn foreign language students that they must use dictionaries containing only their target languages, not bilingual dictionaries. Have students share, translate, and compare definitions in small groups and then report to the whole class differences they have discovered.

These are two samples that could be used to model this small group activity:

1. **democracy** **1a** government by the people, esp: rule of the majority **b** : a government in which the supreme power is vested in the people and exercies by them directly or indirectly through a system of representation usu. involving periodically held free elections (from Merriam Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, tenth edition)

2. **democracia** gobierno en que el pueblo ejerce la soberania // Las clases populares: *las aspiraciones de la democracia* (from Pequeno Larousse Ilustrado)

3. **democratizar** // poner al alcance de todas las clases sociales (from Pequeno Larousse Ilustrado)

Activities on Cultural Diversity in Mexico

Louis B. Casagrande and Sylvia A. Johnson wrote about the five nations of Mexico. They called the first nation Metropolitan Mexico, the 20 million people who live in the Federal District and its metropolitan area. This is the cultural, political, and economic center of Mexico characterized by rapid growth, pollution, a small privileged class, and a large class of urban poor. The second nation is Borderland, the 25 million people who live in Northern Mexico and extending into Southwestern U.S. These desert inhabitants include large industrial cities noted for their independence, self-reliance, and strong connections to the United States. The third nation is South Mexico, the 15 million people who border Central America. This group is about half indigenous and lives in diverse climatic zones. Many live in small towns and remote villages and earn their living as subsistence farmers or as artisans. The fourth nation is the Colonial Heartland, the 30 million inhabitants that live where Spanish colonists first settled. This area is still the breadbasket of Mexico, but it is overpopulated and lacking jobs. Many young people immigrate to the United States from this region. The fifth nation is Club Mex, the 1.5 million people on the Mexican coast who work in the profitable tourtist industry.

Activity #3
Locating the Five Nations of Mexico

To have a clearer idea about the different regions or "nations" of Mexico, use a world atlas or a detailed road map of Mexico to locate the following cities on the map provided. You will need to use clear tape on the reverse side to join the two halves of your map. Color code the cities in the same region by using the same color of ink or colored pencil.

Borderland (Blue)

Mexico:
Tijuana, Baja California Norte
La Paz, Baja California Sur
Nogales, Sonora
Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua
Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas
Matamoros, Tamaulipas
Chihuahua, Chihuahua
Monterrey, Nuevo Leon
Saltillo, Coahuila
San Luis Potosí, San Luis Potosí

United States:
San Diego, California
Los Ángeles, California
Nogales, Arizona
El Paso, Texas
Laredo, Texas
Brownsville, Texas

Colonial Heartland (Red)
Guadalajara, Jalisco
Guanajuato, Guanajuato
Veracruz, Veracruz
Querétaro, Querértaro
Morelia, Michoacán

Metromex (Black)
Mexico City, Federal District
Cuernavaca, Morelos

South Mexico (Green)
Oaxaca, Oaxaca
Villahermosa, Tabasco
Mérida, Yucatan
Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas
San Cristóbal de las Casas

Club Mex (Brown)
Puerto Vallarta, Jalisco
Mazatlán, Sinaloa
Acapulco, Guerrero
Cancún, Quinta Roo

Finally, follow the indications of the patterns you have created by identifying the cities and states of the five different "nations" to lightly shade in the approximate areas of Borderland, South Mexico, and Heartland. Notice that Metromex is in a small, concentrated area and that Club Mex is scattered along beaches (several areas have not been included). Also notice the pairs of border cities that are major crossing zones between the U.S. and Mexico

Activity #4
Scenes from the Five Nations of Mexico

You are about to see slides from the different regions of Mexico. As scenes from each region are shone, write down at least three general statements you could make about the region. After the slides of each region are shone, you will be asked to share your conclusions with the class for general discussion and evaluation. When all slide have been shown, write down at least two characteristics that you have observed that all regions share, excluding Med Mex. We will make a list of the most commonly stated observations and discuss each.

Borderland

#1 El Paso, Texas: These are the Tigua Indians of El Paso doing the shawl dance. This tribe has many similiarities to the indigenous of Northern Mexico.
#2 Paquimé, Chihuahua: These are ruins of a Gran Chichimeca trading center which was at its peak between 1210-1261 A.D.. It is near Casas Grandes, Chihuahua.
#3 Chihuahua, Chihuahua: This is the Plaza Mayor of the city.
#4 Cuidad Juarez, Chihuahua: Maquiladoras are factories established by foreigners in Mexico. This is a plant of OMEX, Outbroad Marine de Mexico, a subsidiary of Outboard Marine Corporation, Waukegan, Illinois.
#5 Chihuahua, Chihuahua: Sixth grade children are on a field trip to the Francisco "Pancho" Villa Museum.
#6 A house built in Cuihuahua by a wealthy man for his sweetheart during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1911)
#7 State of Chihuahua: Houses in rural region
#8 State of Chihuahua: Semi-arid rural region
#9 Divisadero, Chihuahua: the mountains which create part of the wall of Copper Canyon
#10 Divasadero: Tarahumara fiddler with his handmade instrument at Divisadero.

Colonial Heartland

#11 Guadalajara, Jalisco: a statue of the State of Jalisco's emblem: two lions extending their front paws upward on either side of a tree. This is similiar to the statue of the bear extending his front paws to the top of a tree in the Puerta del Sol, Madrid, Spain.
#12 Guadalajara: Patio of the Palacio del Gobierno. You can see the top of the Cathedral above the roof line.
#13 Lake Chapala, Jalisco: the largest lake in Mexico. It has been steadily shrinking.
#14 Morelia, Michoacán: a street scene showing colonial architecture.
#15 Pátzcuaro, Michoacán: a girl selling boyfriend catchers woven from straw. They work like Chinese handcuffs.
#16 Pátzcuaro: the statue of Padre Quiroga (1470-1565, approximately), the priest who taught craft making skills to the indigenous people to help them earn a living. He was the first bishop of Michoacán

#17 Erongarícuaro, Michoacán: a rural church decorated with papel picado for a saint's day celebration.
#18 Lake Pátzcuaro, Michoacán: home of the delicious but quickly disappearing white fish. This lake is also shrinking.
#19 Guanajuato, Guanajuato: Cathedral
#20 Guanajuato: a silver mine outside of town. It looks like a fortress. Strangely enough, it has flying buttresses, a support system more usual for Gothic cathedrals.
#21 Guanajuato: a view of the city.

Metromex (all slides are of the federal district, unless otherwise specified)

#22 Zócalo, the main square of Mexico with the Cathedral and administrative offices of the government.
#23 View from the Castillo de Chapultepec, overlooking Reforma.
#24 Palacio de Bellas Artes, home of the Ballet Folklórico.
#25 Museo de Antropología, the most extensive in Mexico and one of the most important in the world. It showcases artifacts of Mexican indigenous cultures and those indigenous cultures of the U.S. Southwest that are related to Mexican tribes.
#26 The new Basílica de la Virgen de Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico.
#27 Estadio Olímpico at UNAM (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México) built for the 1968 Olympics
#28 Plaza in Coyoacán, which means place of the coyotes, near UNAM
#29 Plaza de Tres Culturas: where indigenous ruins, a colonial church, and modern office buildings and apartment buildings meet in one plaza
#30 Teotihuacan: ruins of an Aztec City important for culture and religion. It was at its height between 300 and 650 A.D. The slide is from the Street of the Dead with the Pyramid of the Moon in the background.
#31 Teotihuacan: temple of Quetzalcoatl, the plumed serpent

South Mexico

#32 San Cristóbal de las Casas, Chiapas: Plaza Mayor
#33 San Cristóbal: Plaza de la Libertad
#34 San Cristóbal: Chamula girls selling dolls
#35 Zinacatán, Chiapas: traditional Mayan House
#36 Chiapas: Scene that inspired the Emblem of the State of Chiapas. It is taken from the Chiapa or Mezcalapa River.
#37 Chiapas: Shrine to the Virgin on the cliffs overlooking the Mezcalapa River.
#38 Chiapan Highlands: rural home
#39 Tuxtla Gutiérrez, Chiapas: Tuxtla Zoo which showcases regional animals, such as the toucan

#40 Palenque, Chiapas: Mayan ruins of an ancient city that flourished during the Classic Maya Period (250 to 900 A.D.) This is a view of the palace complex.
#41 Jaguar, a craft purchased in Palenque, of an animal sacred to the Maya, along with other indigenous civilizations of Mesoamerica.
#42 Oaxacan Cat, Oaxaca is known for its brightly painted fantastic animals. The bright colors were also used by ancient Mixtec of that region in painting their historical books or codices.

Med Mex

#43-45 Cancún, Quintana Roo: three beach scenes from a place filled with U.S-style malls and food franchises, prices quoted in either pesos or dollars, and over-priced *recuerdos* from throughout Mexico.

Activities on Political Parties in Mexico: PRI, PAN, AND PRD

How well the current political system functions in solving both Mexico's common problems and the "nations' " regional problems illustrates the status of democracy in Mexico. The system is run mainly by the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) with minority party influences from the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) and the Partido de la Revolución Democrática (PRD). Below are summaries of the parties as they describe themselves in their own official literature:

The Fulbright group met PRI officials in their party headquarters in Mexico City. The headquarters are a large office complex. We each received a booklet and a video in English, The PRI and Mexican Democracy (1994). The materials are beautifully illustrated with famous Mexican murals, historical party photographs, and colorful charts and graphs. The introduction phase of the materals gives a brief history of the Mexico's struggle for independence and social revolution (1810-1917) which concludes on page 11 of the booklet as follows:

> *After enacting a new Constitution in 1917, the Revolution created, in 1929, its primary political institution, the most original, the most authentic, the backbone of its social evolution and economic development; the National Revolutionary Party (PNR), which in 1938 was transformed into the Party of the Mexican Revolution (PRM), both forerunners of today's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).*
>
> *That is why in PRI, as well as being the party with the greatest historical tradition, has been the one that offered voters the most complete and realistic ideological proposal throughout its 65 years of political activity. The year it was founded it competed with 60 registered parties. The Party was born to unite the different groups and factions that came out of the revolutionary movement; its creation prevented Mexico from falling into anarchy.*

The materials continue by affirming PRI policies of continued social revolution: highway and education programs, the expropriation of foreign oil companies in Mexico, and the distribution of 20 million hectares of land to the peasants. There is emphasis placed on the political stabilty of Mexico under the PRI's 65 years of leadership as contrasted to the instability throughout much of the rest of Latin America. Then the remaining half of the booklet and video is devoted to explaining PRI safeguards to maintain a democratic society: no possible re-election of the president of the republic. minority party

representation in Congress (and expression of dissidence in society)--even without sufficient electorial backing based on majority vote, election reform to insure fair elections, and voter reforms which by 1969 allowed for the universal right to vote for all citizens over age 18.

PAN officials from federal, state, and local government spoke to our Fulbright group on many occasions. We received two of their official pamphlets after our tour of the Mexican Congress. The Democratic Plea of PAN in Huejotzingo, written in English, deals with alleged election fraud by the PRI in the municipality of Huejotzingo, Puebla. The second, PAN: Información básica sobre el Partido Acción Nacional, is one of 500 copies printed in June of 1996. It is a black and white booklet written in Spanish which describes the history, philosophy, and platform of PAN. In the *Antecedentes* section, it states that Manuel Gómez Morin founded the party under the precepts of *vasconcelismo*. *Vasconcelismo* is not explained in the booklet, but it refers to José Vasconcelos (1881-1959), a Mexican writer and philospher who believed that life is action and that man should organize his life by ethical conduct. Another side of Vasconcelos was his view of history. In his prologue to the Breve Historia de Mexico (published two years before the founding of PAN) he states:

> *Nada destruyó España porque nada existía digno de conservarse cuando ella llegó a estos territorios, a menos de que se estime sagrada toda esa mala yerba del alma que son el canibalismo de los caríbes, los sacrificios humanos de los aztecas, el despotismo embrutecedor de los incas. Y no fue un azar que España dominase en América en vez de Inglaterra o de Francia. España tenía que dominar en el Nuevo Mundo, porque dominaba en el Viejo en la época de la colonización. Ningún otro pueblo de Europa tenía en igual grado que el español el poder de espíritu necesario para llevar adelante una empresa que no tiene paralelo en la historia entera de la humanidad; epopeya de geografos y de guerreros, de sabios y de colonizadores, de héroes y de santos que al ensanchar el dominio del hombre sobre el planeta, ganaban también para el espíritu las almas de los conquistados...*

The section continues by stating that the Lázaro Cárdenas government (1934-1940) broke up the political classes and instead placed workers and peasants (sectors of divergent interests) within the ruling party. In the sections dealing with objectives and doctrine several key goals appear: the creation of social consciousness and the reform of political and social structures to negiociate the common good as set forth in the federal constitution. The pamphlet continues by outlining the party structure of the Executive National Committee, the State Directive Committees, and the Municipal Committees-- all ruled by

the National Assembly. The National Advisory elects the party president and the members of the the National Executive Committee. The balance of the booklet discusses the party's gains. Municipal governments run by PAN leaders support the needs of their constituents. Federal legislators fight against corruption. They also proposed legislation for social security and housing rights that was ignored until re-introduced by PRI legislators. They proposed legislation to give the clergy the political rights of other citizens and instituted voter photo identification credentials. The pamphlet concludes with some postulates about the importance of human rights, the protection of the environment, and concerns about the changes in international commerce and foreign investment. Two inserts were included within the pamphlet. They graphed the gains of the PAN in muncipal, state, and federal offices.

The PRD headquarters in Mexico City are much more spartan than those of the PRI. We walked up several flights of stairs to sit in a meeting room with plain, functional tables and chairs. However, we were given several pieces of literature; Coyuntura, the party's monthly magazine; En defensa de los derechos humanos, a book narrating alleged cases of politically motivated violence and murder, region by region in Mexico, from 1988 to 1994; Mexico, a Restricted Democracy, a booklet which criticizes the PRI governance of Mexico from the time of the 1968 students protests through the *sexenio* of Salinas; and Declaración de Principios y Programa de la Revolución Democrática: Partido de la Revolución Democrática, a book which details the philosophy and the social and political concerns of the PRD. All of these materials are black and white print; only Coyuntura has photographs. In its Declaration of Principles (1995), the PRD declares that it was created by the free will of citizens that responded to the call of the *pueblo* of Mexico on November 21, 1988. It declares the following about the democratic state:

> *La democracia en el país tiene como primer requisito y condición la vigencia plena del estado de derecho y la eliminación del régimen de partido de Estado. Para arribar a un sistema cabalmente democrático debemos superar el presidencialismo concentrador de facultades legales y extralegales; la subordinación de los otros poderes públicos; la centralización excesiva; la dependencia de los gobiernos estatales en relación con el federal y de los municipios en relación con los estatales; la violación de los derechos humanos y las garantías individuales y sociales; la ilegalidad en que no pocas veces actuan las autoridades públicas de distinto rango; los fraudes electorales recurrentes....*
>
> *....La legitimidad del Estado descansa en el consenso libre de la sociedad y en el acatamiento de las normas y principios que ésta se ha dado. Una sociedad sin formas propias de organización e instituciones ciudadanas, colocada frente al dominio y el control del gobierno, es incapaz de crear y sostener instituciones políticas fuertes y representativas. La auténtica democracia*

rescata el impulso social para encauzarlo hacia la definición, ejecución y supervisión de los actos gubernamentales. Mayor democracia en la sociedad supone mayor democracia en las instituciones estatales y lo mismo es a la inversa...

The PRD believes in the inclusion of all diverse elements of society in the political process: indigenous groups, women, workers, peasants. However, it maintains the principle of strict separation of church and state. It believes that government must have an active role in economic development and income redistribution. The PRD also maintains that Mexico must adhere to the principle of self-determination in foreign affairs.

Activity #5
Profiling Party Members

Using the information about the PRI, PAN, and PRD in the introduction to this activity (and advanced Spanish students, where needed), create a profile of a typical member of each party. In a group of four students, one should read the description of each party aloud to the group. One should help the group translate the quotes in Spanish. One should record the group's written profiles-- including occupation, age, sex, social class, religion, race/ethnic background, and major attraction to the party. The fourth group member will draw a picture of the person created from each profile. When all groups have completed the assignment, the recorders will report the finished work to the class.

Activity #6
Identifying Party Membership

View the following slides and listen to commentary which accompanies each. Then from what you have learned about the PRI, the PAN, and the PRD, decide the party affliation of each person or group.

#1 Rodolfo Bermejo (the center figure) is from Cuidad Juárez, Chihuahua. He is an active party member who believes in peaceful resistence to the government. According to him, it has taken 39 years of patience to achieve results. One of his main complaints is that industry has grown substancially in Ciudad Juárez, creating a much larger tax base, but almost all of the money raised goes to the state and federal governments. He also made the following points about what he believes must change in govenment for Mexico to be more democratic:

1) the hegemony (dominance) of power must end
2) there must be public discussions about public affairs
3) there must be notable advances in free expression
4) there must be separation of powers in the federal government
5) there must be more access for political participation

6) there must be a break with the policy of corporatism (society organized into industrial and professional corporations which are recognized as official political representatives of their membership, even though they exercise political control over their groups, usually through economic means)

#2 Jesús Macías (to the left of the overhead) is also from Cuidad Juárez. He was a former candidate for governor of Chihuahua and made several jokes about losing the election. He spoke about the political power that transferred to PAN as a reaction to federal economic policies (of President de la Madrid): Nuevo Leon and Sonora in the North in 1982, the major cities in Chihuahua with PAN mayors, the current governor and congressional representation of Jalisco. He believes that voting is differentiated by the personality of the candidate. As for Mexico's transition toward democracy, he believes that the key issue is ending presidentialism (where the predominance of power at the federal level is through the president). The question is how to accomplish that: Who is going to nominate the presidential candidates? Are the elections going to be in the power of the citizens? Should residents living outside of Mexico be able to vote for president?

#3 Salvador López is the mayor of Morelia. The whole time we were with him we were filmed by one of his public relation staffers. He had been dealing with a multitude of public demonstrations. He finally appealed to the community that the demonstrations to follow be well organized and of no more than 30 minutes each, so that they would have the desired political impact without becoming nuisances. He told us of his pride in Morelia, with its UNESCO designation of international patrimony (historical importance) five years ago and with the educational exchanges between the United States and the oldest university in Mexico. He wants Morelia to develop its tourist industry potential. The climate for this would be better if the street vendor problem could be solved and if more money could be found for cultural restoration projects. He stated that his political party wanted to involve more people in the political process, instead of having so much internal control of government. Another goal is to have 4% of federal tax funds go to municipal governments. (The current percentage is 1%.)

#4 This is a group of unemployed bus workers carrying their union banners and demonstrating in front of the municipal offices in Morelia. These men are unemployed because of organizational changes within their company which is headquartered in the Federal District. They have followed their mayor's request for a short, peaceful demonstration. They respectfully present him with a list of their grievances and ask him to intervene in their behalf because the mayor has excellent relations with the president of the republic, Ernesto Zedillo.

#5 The man wearing the white striped shirt is Vicente Fox, Governor of Guanajuato. He prides himself on not wearing suits. His security guards are present, but seated at a discrete distance. He owns a farm, but because farming is insecure, he worked for Coca Cola for fifteen years, five of those years as president of the company. He began by saying that

Mexico was the vanguard of democracy at the beginning of the century, but now the country is behind. There should be a commitment to follow the constitution. Corruption comes from the absolute power. Speaking about the United States, he said that there is no difference between political parties in the U.S. The U.S. sees its relationship with Mexico as a father to his son: here's the money to solve your problems. He believes that NAFTA has been good for Mexico by increasing jobs. Large companies are making connections down to the local level.

#6 Felipe de Jesús Valencia Ochoa is the Mayor of Pátzcuaro, Michoacán. When he entered office, all of the city's financial records were missing, along with the office furniture. White plastic chairs encircled his desk for our visit, and we were served coffee in china cups, along with cookies. The mayor began by telling us that he was a school teacher. His city council consists of seven members, four from the PRD and three from the PRI. The council meets every two weeks, but there are also called meetings. He also stated that there were neighborhood representatives. He said that his community was 50% indigenous, and that the tribal traditions must be respected. The mayor wanted more construction projects in town to combat unemployment. The highest priority was given to water and road projects. He also mentioned the need for an exhibition center and a cooperative for marketing crafts, a health center (they currently have just one, staffed only by a nurse), and nine new elementary schools. He said that seventy teachers lived in town but that most worked in other places.

#7 This is the entrance to the office building and the grounds of Casa Albarado where Estevan Moctezuma (center male at the table) works. He has been commissioned as part of a "think tank" on policy for decentralizing the government. He had breakfast (which for him consisted of nopal juice) at his office with our group. He began by telling us that he had run seven miles that morning. His first topic was about the economic situation in Mexico. With the population growth, the country does not have the resources to keep up. Wealth distribution among the states should be more equal, but each state is different and must be dealt with differently. The economy is in transition from being traditional to becoming modern. This has brought about the devaluation of the peso and capital flight. 3,000 million dollars (a Mexican expression for 3 billion) move through the world markets every day. Mexico needs to keep investment money in the country. Mexico is a richer country in statistics, but not in human measure.

Moctezuma proposed several reforms for the federal government. One was a shrinking of the federal ministries from 18 to 11. Another was the elimination of the practice of using the Supreme Court as a "retirement home" for all good executive department workers. Another was to allow the legislative branch to be more independent of the executive branch.

#8 This is not a picture of Felipe Calderón, but it is graffiti from a wall in San Cristobal de las Casas painted by an individual of the newest and most radical wing of his party, the zapatistas (EZLN). Calderon spoke to us in the Benjamin Franklin Library. He believes

that political participation pushes political reform: *Le mandan a volar al cacique.* In dealing with political reform, the problem is the practice, not the law: *Cada quien es cómplice en la corrupción y la circunlocución de las leyes.* A "clean house" has to be maintained. Corruption should be disciplined within the political party; cut the officials who don't follow the laws. He has two suggestions on economic issues. One is to have regional development programs . He describes the government's budget as 80% federal, 16% local, and 4% corruption. The second is for the U.S. to allow avocado imports from Mexico, which would have the added result of cutting illegal immigration from Michoacán. Answers:

#1 PAN Bermejo has the concern of many conservative Mexicans, change in government without throwing the country into anarchy. He believes that time is on his party's side.

2 PRI Macías shows the defensive posture of the PRI in explaining how the party has managed to stay in power so long and what the party is doing in response to opposition.

#3 PAN López actively seeks international investment. Creating an orderly and friendly atmosphere in his community will attract that investment.

#4 PRI These union workers have been caught in the policies of *corporatismo.* The Federal District control of their organization has left them without jobs, so they have come to an official from the most powerful opposition party for help.

#5 PAN Fox is not seen as an orthodox member of his party. He believes in winning elections first and worrying about political theory later. His fit with PAN is with big business connections tied to international corporations. He is rumored to be a strong contender for the presidency in 2000.

#6 PRD Felipe de Jesús Valencia Ochoa is one of a growing number of PRI defecters to the PRD. His political philosphy has not changed, but like a growing number of citizens from Michoacán, he has left the party because of the corruption of its traditional leaders.

#7 PRI Moctezuma and much of his "think tank" look like any yuppies you could find in the U.S. Many in Zedillo's government are U.S. educated and tend to apply U.S. solutions to Mexican problems, particularly in the economic realm.

#8 PRD Cárdenas is probably the most important political theorist in the PRD. He strongly believes in a policy of inclusion and personal responsibility domestically and in the policy of self-determination in foreign affairs. However, inclusion has its problems. It is difficult for the party to maintain a cohesive front when it has such a varied membership.

How did you do? Don't be alarmed if you made mistakes. Political parties are diverse and rarely contain many "purists" within their memberships.

Activities About Political Influences of the U.S. in Mexico

The United States has been one of the most powerful countries on earth for as long as any of us can remember. It is difficult for those of us who have lived in the United States as citizens all of our lives to completely understand the impact of our international policies abroad. Our press reports what it thinks we are interested in hearing, and even though we have the world's most sophisticated communication and information systems, few of us stay informed about issues that we don't think directly affect our daily lives. Furthermore, when international issues do surface, public opinion is formed from the seven-second sound bites of the hour, rather than from deliberate scrutiny of both the background and the immediate circumstances of the issues. Therefore, when we do interact with people from other cultures, we often do not understand their reactions to us.

Mexico has lived with the Giant to the North. That giant took about half of its territory during the Mexican-American War and has continued to play a role in Mexican politics ever since. The following activities are designed to make you aware of two burning issues from a Mexican perspective: economic integration and immigration.

Activity #7
Economic Integration: NAFTA, Maquilas, and the 50 Billion Dollar U.S.-IMF Loan

How can the economies of Canada, Mexico, and the United States integrate to the mutual benefit of all parties involved? That is the purpose of NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement). Now that the treaty is operational, how have the economies of the participants fared? For Mexico, NAFTA, the $50 billion U.S.-IMF loan, and the changing role of the maquiladora industry have all had direct political and social implications stemming from U.S. policies and capital. Have each student find five copies of U.S. news articles about U.S. reactions to any if these topics. (They should have at least one article for each of the three areas.) For NAFTA, they should start with stories surrounding the 1992 presidential campaign. For the loan (known in the U.S. as the $20 Billion Bailout), students should look for articles starting with the December 20, 1995 devaluation of the peso and the crash of the Mexican Stock Market (the Bolsa). Any article about the maquiladora industry will do; the first one was built by RCA in 1965. Divide the class into six groups, two for each topic. Have students exchange articles so that each group only has articles related to its area. Have them summarize the U.S. postions for their area and then compare and contrast those postions with the reactions of Mexico that follow for their area of study. Have each group report back to the class.

NAFTA

The northern states of Mexico have seen many positive results from NAFTA, but the North has had closer ties to the U.S. than other regions. 70% of the maquila industry

is in the North, particulary in Tijuana, Matamoros, and Ciudad Juárez. Approximately 200,000 people from Tijuana work on both sides of the border on a regular basis. These same people have long purchased U.S.consumer goods while on shopping trips north of the border.

The problem is that central and southern regions of the country have been much more isolated from economic activity with the U.S. The 1990's brought a flood of U.S. goods into the Mexican market. U.S. franchises, such as McDonald's, Wendy's, Walmart, Kmart, and even Taco Bell were springing up in Mexican Cities, replacing many of the tradtional small businesses. 90% of all businesses in Mexico employ between 3 and 10 people, but they are no longer protected by a pre-NAFTA closed economy. By the mid-1990's 40% of all grocery shopping was in U. S.-style supermarkets. The family-owned neighborhood stores were being replaced. Businesses failed; unemployment soared.

One of the most damaging results of NAFTA has been to magnify the economic disparity between Northern and Southern Mexico. In Nuevo Leon, the life expectancy is 73; in Chiapas and Oaxaca it is 67. The average educational level in Leon is 7.4 years; for Chiapas and Oaxaca it is 3.9 years. The average income in the six Northern States is double that of the South. Increased U.S. industrial investiment is concentrated in the North where transportation is cheaper and the workforce is more educated. Only 27% of the northern economy is based in agriculture. 55% of the southern economy is in the agricultural sector, and it has been devastated by wheat, corn, and fruit imports from the United States, while Mexican tomatoes and avocados have been denied entrance into U.S. markets.

Maquilas

Maquilas were first developed to alleviate the problems of unemployment in the border zone with the United States. They provided an opportunity for investors to own 100% of a business in Mexico, as long as the production was for export. It was hoped that this industry would be a controlled force in moving the Mexican economy closer to the standards of the developed world. The first maquila was established in 1965.

What is the state of the maquiladora industry today? Now 50% of the production from the maquilas can be sold in Mexico; by 2003 there will be no limitation for domestic sales. In 1990 the maquilas represented 24.19% of the export industry and 370 million jobs. It is projected that by 2000 40% of maquilas will be in the interior of the country. In 1994 non-U.S. foreign investors stated that their main reason for establishing maquilas was to get to U.S. markets more easily. There are relatively low levels of integration between maquilas and domestic industry. As of this year, the average wage in Mexico is about U.S.$3.80 for an eight hour day.

The $50 Billion U.S.-IMF Loan

When the peso was devaluated on December 20, 1994, a chain of economic woes hit Mexico. Mexican corporations lost $70 billion in their stock market value and the government had a dangerously low foreign reserves in the bank. To keep Mexico from defaulting on foreign loans and to avoid a further run on the peso, the Clinton administration developed a $20 billion package in loan guarantees with an additional $30 billion loan added by the International Monetary Fund.

Loans always cost money, and big loans cost big money. 56.1% of the federal budget went to debt retirement in 1988. By 1995 the Mexican national debt was 25 billion, 325 million dollars. (The GNP of Mexico in 1994 was $368 billion, 679 million according to the International Finace Corporation's Emerging Market Factbook 1996.) Now the nationally owned Pemex oil export money would have to be used as loan collateral. Spending cuts and downsizing had to be drastic, there would be wage and price freezes, and more government businesses would be privatized to raise funds.

The private sector has also suffered. Banks loans are now outrageously expensive or impossible to obtain. Interest rates on existing loans have skyrocketed, causing small ranchers and merchants to default. Many have resisted the seizure of their properties through the *Barzón* movement. Because the peso devaluations had cut all wage-earning Mexicans' buying power in half, the poor desperately needed continued government substities for milk and tortillas, but those subsidies were cut. In the first three months of 1996, tortilla prices increased 27%, milk; 27%, and gasoline; 6%. The debt is being paid with a drastic reduction in the size of middle class and a drastic rise in number of poor. Of the 95 million people in Mexico, 10 million are classified as living in extreme poverty, meaning they must worry each day about earning enough to eat.

The information for this activity has been compiled from the following sources:

Jorge Calderón's position paper for the PRD, "Desarrollo Económico, Estado y Sociedad. Reflexiones sobre México, " June, 1996.

Jose Luis Estrada and Rosalinda Arriaga's article for Regiones: Revista Interdisciplinaria en Estudios Regionales, "La importancia de la industria maquiladora de exportación en la generación de salarios y empleos en México," August-November, 1994, pp.143-159.

Rex Maingot, Managing Director of Bermudez Binswanger's speech, "The Maquila Industry," to the Fulbright Summer Seminar to Mexico on June 24, 1996.

Andres Oppenheimer, Bordering on Chaos, Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1996. (This book has also been translated into Spanish and is widely available throughout Mexico.)

Activity #8
Immigration: Myths and Realities

The United States is now going through a period of increased anti-immigrant sentiments. Much has been said and much has been published lately about this issue. Recent U. S. treatment of illegal immigrants has sounded an alarm throughout Mexico. Continual heated anti-immigration political rhetoric has further strained U.S.-Mexican relations.

The question is how much factual information do you actually know about immigration in the United States, Take this true-false text and then check you answers. Then set up small group debates (2 pro-immigration, 2 anti-immigration). List the arguments on each side to share with the whole class.

1. There has been a tradition of Mexican worker migration to the United States for over 100 years.

2. The majority of Mexicans who illegally cross the border come from the Northern Mexican States.

3. There are U.S. citizens who reside illegally in Mexico, particularly in the state of Jalisco.

4. Mexicans must pay $20 for a visa to the United States, but Canadians pay nothing.

5. The Western Growers Association negociated a rider on the Immigration Act of 1984 which restricts immigration officers from searching open fields without a search warrant.

6. Many illegal aliens are criminals.

7. The first govenmental bi-national (U.S.-Mexico) comission to discuss immigration was held in 1988.

8. In 1993, 10 percent of engineering doctorates at U.S. universities went to foreign-born professionals.

9. Half of the 800,000 garment workers in the United States are immigrants.

10. Immigrants steal jobs from U.S. citizens and keep wages low.

11. Hispanic foreign born males have the highest rate of labor-force participation of all males in the United States.

12. Immigrants pay less in taxes than they receive in social assistance.

Answers:

1. True. It was formalized during the Bracero Program (1940-1964). The U.S. government issued four million work permits to Mexicans.

2. False. The states with the largest number of illegals in the United States are Jalisco and Michoacán. The high unemployment of those regions is to blame.

3. True. According to U.S. Consul General in Guadalajara Danny Root there are 40,000 U. S. citizens in Jalisco; some of them are illegals. Many are retirees attracted to a lower cost of living. We met one such woman in Chapala. She suggested that we eat at the American Legion Post because it had good hamburgers.

4. True as of July 1996. This new fee has led to charges of racism.

5. True. Before that time, immigration officers were unrestricted in open fields within 100 miles of the border.

6. False. According to Luis Garcia, Immigration and Naturalization Director in El Paso, only 1% of illegals are criminals.

7. True. Now the Zedillo Administration has seven directors of migration.

8. False. 40% did.

9. True. Every time you see a Made in the USA label in clothing, chances are you can thank an immigrant. If immigrants didn't hold these jobs, the jobs would move overseas.

10. False. According to the Alexis de Tocqueville Institution in Arlington, Virginia, between 1960 and 1991 the ten states with the highest percentage of immigrants had lower unemployment than the10 states with the lowest percentage of immigrants. Blacks who work in cities with a large immigrant populations earn more.

11. True. According to the 1990 census, for all foreign-born males, the participation was 77%, for native-born Americans it was 74%, but for Hispanics it was 83%.

12. False. According to the Cato Institute, in a 15-year study started in 1975, results show that immigrants pay more taxes than native families. Within 5 years of entering the country, an average immigrant family receives $1,440 in social services as opposed to $2,279 for native families.

From the remarks that Jorge Calderón presented to the National Executive Committee in Querétaro on October 20, 1995 are some ideas about the migratory question for discussion:

They aren't so much the factors of "expulsion" of Mexico and of "attraction" to the neighbor of the north as the North American

sociologist has said insistently, nor the "complementation" of "comparative advantages" that different societies on the migratory process between Mexico and the United States offer that is often said by the economic school in vogue at the end of the centry. What there is is a structural relation of labor market and capital, with its migratory variable...

...On one side, the North American state has permitted illegal unemployment and the superexploitation of them (illegal workers), on the other, the Mexican State has left them unprotected politically and legally...

...It is necessary to re-open the Free Trade Treaty (NAFTA) to include a clause or a chapter about migration or to carefully sign a migratory treaty between Mexico and the United States based on the International Convention of the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families, approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations the 30th of November, 1990.

These sources were used for activity #8:

Jorge Calderon's position paper for the National Executive Committee of the PRD ,"Escenarios de la polítca exterior mexicana," October 20, 1995.

Linda Chávez and John J. Miller, "The Immigration Myth," Reader's Digest , May 1996, pp.69-73.

Luis García, Immigration and Naturalization District Director's talk on "U.S. Immigration" to the Fulbright Seminar on June 25, 1996.

_____. "Mitos sobre la inmigración," PAN Acción Internacional, April 30, 1996, pp. 2-3.

El Grito de la Independencia

Just as there are many political and cultural issues that divide Mexico, there are many others that bind the nation. One is the pride in the long battle for independence. Carmen Hernández, our Fulbright Seminar Director, told me that she always looked forward to the celebration of "El Grito," the holiday commemorating the beginning of the War of Independence in 1810. The people crowd together in the Zócalo of Mexico City, waiting for the President of the Republic to lead them in the national declaration begun on September 16, 1812, by General Ignacio Rayón , while in the heat of battle, to honor Padre Hidalgo (1753-1811) and Ignacio Allende (1779-1811). People come to the zócalo

in all Mexican towns on the anniversary of that date to affirm their national pride and to pay respect to their founding fathers. For that reason, a celebration of "El Grito," which is held in Mexico on the evening of September 15 (not *el cinco de mayo*), is a fitting close to a unit of study on Mexico's Transition Toward Democracy.

Activity #9
El Grito de la Independencia

Today we are going to complete our unit on Mexico's Transition to Democracy by celebrating a tradition commemorating the beginning of Mexico's War of Independece on September 16, 1810. We will begin by pairing Spanish students with students who do not speak Spanish to alternate reading the declaration of Jose Maria Morelos,"Sentimientos de la Nación," that made this celebration an official national holiday.

"1o. Que la América es libre e independiente de España y de toda otra nación, gobierno o monarquía, y que así se sancione dando al mundo las razones.

"1st. That America is free and independent of Spain and all other nations, governments or monarchies, and so has been sanctioned to give the world the reasons.

"2o. Que la religión católica sea la única, sin tolerancia de otras.

"2nd. That the Catholic Religion is the only one, without tolerance of others.

"3o. Que todos sus ministros se sustenten de todos y sólo los diezmos y primicias, y el pueblo no tenga que pagar mas obvenciones que las de su devoción y ofrenda.

"3rd. That all of their ministers are sustained by all and not only the tithes and primacies, and the people don't have to pay extra fees than those of their devotion and offering.

"4o. Que el dogma sea sostenido por la jerarquía de la Iglesia que son el papa, los obispos y los curas, porque se debe arrancar toda planta que Dios no plantó: *omni plantatioquam non plantabis Pater meus celestis eradicabitur*. (Mateo, capitulo 15)

"4th. Let the dogma sustained by the hierarchy of the Church that are the pope, the bishops and the priests, be pulled up because one should pull up all plants that God did not plant.
(Matthew, chapter 15)

"5o. Que la soberanía dimnana inmediatamente del pueblo, el que sólo quiere depositarla en sus representantes dividiendo los poderes de ella en legislativo, ejecutivo y

judicial, eligiendo las provincias sus vocales y estos a los demás que deben ser sujetos sabios y de probidad.

"5th. That sovereignty immediately arises from the people, only that which they want to deposit in their representatives, divide its power in the legislative, executive, and judicial, the provinces electing its spokesmen, and these others, that ought to be learned and upright subjects.

"6o. Que los poderes legislativo, ejecutivo y judicial estén divididos en los cuerpos compatibles para ejercerlos.

"6st. That the legislative, executive and judicial powers be divided in compatible bodies to execute them.

"7o. Que funcionarán cuatro anos los vocales turnándose, saliendo los más antiguos para que ocupen el lugar los nuevos electos.

"7th. That every four years it will happen that the spokesmen will take turns, the oldest ones leaving so that the newly elected can occupy their places.

"8o. La dotación de los vocales será una congrua suficiente y no superflua y no pasará por ahora de 800 pesos.

"8th. That the payment of the spokesmen will be a sufficient amount and not too much, and not to be more for now than 800 pesos.

"9o. Que los empleos los obtengan sólo los americanos.

"9th. That only Americans have the jobs.

"10o. Que no se admitan extranjeros, si no son artesanos capaces de instruir y libres de toda sospecha.

"10th. That foreigners not be admitted unless they are artisans capable of instructing and free of all suspicion.

"11o. Que la Patria no será del todo libre y nuestra mientras no se reforme el gobierno, abatiendo el tiránico, sustituyendo el liberal y echando fuera de nuestro suelo al enemigo español, que tanto se ha declarado contra esta nación.

"11th. That the Nation will not be completely free and ours while the government is not reformed, abating the tyrannical, substituting the liberal and throwing off of our soil the Spanish enemy, that so often has been declared against this nation.

"12o. Que como la buena ley es superior a todo hombre, las que dicte nuestro Congreso deben ser tales que obliguen a constancia y patriotismo, moderen la opulencia y la indigencia; y de tal suerte se aumente el jornal del pobre, que mejore sus costumbres, alege la ignorancia, la rapiña y el hurto.

"12th. That as the good law is superior to all men, those which our Congress pass ought to be such that they oblige constancy and patriotism, moderate opulence and poverty, and by such luck raise the wages of the poor, better their situation, alleviate ignorance, pillage and theft.

"13o. Que las leyes generales comprendan a todos, sin excepcion de cuerpos privilegiados y que éstos sólo lo sean en cuanto al uso de su ministerio. Que para dictar una ley se discuta en el Congreso y habida a pluralidad de votos.

"13th. That the general law covers everyone, with the exception of the privileged bodies and these only as related to the use of their ministry. That in order to pass a law, it is debated in Congress and born of a plurality of the votes.

"14o. Que para dictar una ley se haga junta de sabios, en el sigilo posible, para que proceda con más acierto y exonere de algunos cargos que pudieren resultarles.

"14th. That to pass a law it be made by a group of learned men, in possible secrecy, so that it proceeds with more certainty and exempts some interests that could be affected by it.

"15o. Que la exclavitud se proscriba para siempre y lo mismo la distinción de castas, quedando todos iguales; y sólo distinguirá a un americano de otro, el vicio y la virtud.

"15th. That slavery be banned forever and the same with caste distinctions, leaving everyone equal, and only will one American be distinguished from another by virtue and vice.

"16o. Que nuestros puertos se franqueen a las naciones extranjeras amigas, pero que éstas no se internen al reino por más amigas que sean; y sólo haya puertos señalados para el efecto, prohibiendo el desembarco en todos los demás y señalando el diez por ciento y otra gabela a sus mercancías.

"16th. That friendly foreign nations pass through our ports, but they cannot admit themselves in the realm no matter how good a friend they are, and there will only be specified ports for this, prohibiting the disembarkation at all of the rest and requiring ten percent and other tariffs on their merchandise.

"17o. Que a cada uno se le guarden sus propiedades y respete en su casa como en un asilio sagrado, señalando apenas a los infractores.

"17th. That for each one his propery be kept and respected in his home as a sacred asylum, pointing out immediately the offenders.

"18o. Que en la nueva legislacion no se admita la tortura.

"18th. That in the new legislation torture is not permitted.

"19o. Que en la misma se establezca por la Ley Constitucional, la celebración del día doce de diciembre en todos los pueblos, dedicado a la patrona de nuestra libertad, María Santísma de Guadalupe, encargando a todos los pueblos la devoción mensual.

"19th. That in the same is established by Constitutional Law, the celebration on the 12th day of December in every town, dedicated to the patroness of our liberty, Most High Saint Mary of Guadalupe, charging all towns with the monthly devotion.

"20o. Que las tropas extranjeras de otro reino no pisen nuestro suelo; y si fuere en ayuda, no estarán donde la Suprema Junta.

"20th. That foreign troops from another reign not step on our soil, and if they come in aid, they not be with the Supreme Army.

"21o. Que no se hagan expediciones fuera de los límites de reino, especialmente ultramarinas; pero no son de esta clase, propagar la fe a nuestros hermanos de tierra dentro.

"21st. That expeditions not be made outside of the limits of the reign, especially on the high seas, but they are not of this type, to propagate the faith of our brothers of internal lands.

"22o. Que se quite la infinidad de tributos, pechos o imposiciones que nos agobian, y se señale a cada individuo un cinco por ciento en sus ganancias u otra carga igual de ligera que no oprima tanto, como la alcabala, el estanco, el tributo y otros; pues con esta contribución y la buena administración de los bienes confiscados al enemigo, podrá llevarse el peso de la guerra y honorarios de empleados.

"22nd. That the unending tributes be thrown out, burdens or impositions that oppress, and point out to every individual five percent of his earnings or another charge equally small that won't be too oppressive, like the fees on sales and exchanges, levies, tributes and others; well with this contribution and the good administration of the goods confiscated from the enemy, it will pay for the war and the salaries of the employees.

"23o. Que igualmente se solemnice el dia 16 de septiembre, todos los años, como el día aniversario en que se levantó la voz de la Independencia, y nuestra santa Libertad comenzó, pues en ese día fue en el que se abrieron los labios de la Nación para reclamar

sus derechos y empuñó la espada para ser oída, recordando siempre el mérito del grande héroe el señor Don Miguel Hidalgo y su compañero Don Ignacio Allende.

"23rd. That equally the day 16 of September will solemnize, every year, as the anniversary day in which the voice of the Independence was raised , and our sacred Liberty began, well on that day was the one in which the lips of the Nation were opened to reclaim its rights and the sword was brandished in order to be heard, recording for always the merit of the great hero Mr. Don Miguel Hidalgo and his companion Don Ignacio Allende.

Chilpancingo, 14 de septiembre de 1813.
Jose Maria Morelos.--Rúbrica."

Next a Spanish speaker should lead the *Grito*, which should be repeated line by line by the class:

¡Viva México!
¡Viva nuestra Independencia!
¡Vivan los Héroes que nos dieron Patria!

The celebration could continue with a tasting buffet of Mexican foods prepared by the students. The dish typically served to commemorate Mexican Indepence is *los chiles en nogada.* It is a complicated recipe that can be found in Sebastian Verti's Tradiciones Mexicanas, Mexico: Editorial Diana (1991), pp.340-345. The information for this activity, minus the English translation, comes from the same book, pp335-339.

Conclusion

We have gone full circle to the beginning of Mexico's quest for democracy, the start of the Mexican Revolution. But where is Mexico today in its trajectory toward democracy? Realization of the goal does not rest with any specific political party. It rests with the people. They must continue to demand fair and honest elections. Furthermore, they must insist that public officials at all levels of government serve every constituent equally, prudently using all public resources for the public good and passing well constructed legislation designed to improve the lives of all Mexicans.

Mexican Culture Kit
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   D. Books on governmental environmental programs (advanced Spanish students)
      1. Programa para mejorar la calidad del aire en el Valle de México,1995-2000.
      2. Programa de Áreas Naturales Protegidas de México, 1995-2000

II. Indigenous people of Mexico
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      2. Chamula doll--from the descendants of the Maya
      3. Puku 'ul-- tribal vest for a boy from descendants of the Maya in the highlands of Zinacatán
   B. Slide presentation (in Spanish), "Indígenas de Mexico"-- for intermediate and advanced high school students
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      3. Tarascos (Juaracuaro y Tzintzuntzán)
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   C. Arqueología Mexicana: Los dioses de Mesoamerica--advanced Spanish students
   D. Video on the Tlacuilo (in English)--fits in the art unit of Spanish III, Ya Verás
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      4. Mazamitla, Tapalpa
      5. Jalostotitlán
      6. Ballet Folklórico de Jalisco
      7. Ciudad de México